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June 6, 1955

MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Donald Irwin

FROM: Neilson C. Debevoise

SUBJECT: Briefing by Ambassador Malik on Bandung Conference

The Ambassador began his briefing by stating that he had several liabilities in his attempt to be judicial about the conference. The most important of these was the fact that he was strongly anti-Communist.

He answered his own question as to why the Arabs and Turks were invited to participate with the Far Eastern people with whom they had nothing in common. The Ambassador gave four reasons:

1. Arab participation was a negative reaction to the West.
2. It was a product of the Afro-Asian bloc at the UN.
3. It was a product of the Palestinian situation.
4. It was a result of the Indian work on Korea.

The Colombo powers asked the Arabs because Nehru wanted to play a leading role and because of Communist initiative.

Mr. Malik believed that Prime Minister Nehru was a great success at the conference and had achieved everything he was after. According to the Ambassador most of the work was done in secret meetings of the political, economic and cultural committees. (Neither Mr. Landon nor I agree with the Ambassador that Nehru made a great success at the conference since we feel he was completely overshadowed by Chou En-lai. Even in his own country his efforts were called a failure).

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The Prime Minister of Ceylon made one of the important speeches of the conference. He refused, however, to sign a resolution based on his speech and thereafter held his tongue.

Chou En-lai was easily the most outstanding figure. He frequently kept things in mind by threatening that if any delicate issue were raised he would raise his own issues, i.e. Formosa and others. Chou was courteous, gentle, humble and disarming. He met almost all the participants in the conference for the purpose of reassuring them of China's intentions. He made no mistake. His crowning victory was the final offer to negotiate on Formosa. Unfortunately, Mr. Malik stated "The conference has left us in a position where we must negotiate on China".

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